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The collaborative and selective nature of interpreting in police interviews with stand-by interpreting

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Abstract

This study explores interaction in two authentic interpreter-mediated police interviews with suspects. The analysis focuses on the interpreting regime used: stand-by interpreting. The interactional regime in the analysed interviews featured exolingual communication in English between a Spanish-speaking suspect with emerging competencies in English and English-speaking interviewers, with intermittent interpreter participation. Drawing on Conversation Analysis and interactional sociolinguistics, this study analyses how the interpreting regime was negotiated, how it was constructed over the course of the interviews, and the observable function of interpreting episodes. The analysis revealed a markedly collaborative nature of stand-by interpreting, differences in the distribution of interactional power over interpreting episodes among the three participants depending on their activity role and the interview phase, and the multimodal nature of turn-management. Interpreting was used selectively as a resource to either repair or prevent miscommunication, aligning with the way the interpreting regime was set up. Rather than advocating for or against the stand-by mode of interpreting, this paper describes its features in the police interview and highlights both its potential and its risks for communication in interpreter-mediated police interviews as a discourse genre.

Keywords: stand-by interpreting, police interview, negotiation, multimodality

1. Introduction

Speakers using their native or dominant language in monolingual interaction may require assistance due to individual or contextual features. Similarly, interpreting or other forms of linguistic support are often necessary in multilingual encounters even if speakers have shared linguistic repertoires or “transparent language constellations” (Müller 1989). Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) describe how speakers’ multilingual competencies are generally “truncated”. Their competencies become usable or not, capacitating or incapacitating, depending on the situational context, the linguistic repertoires and regime and the policies and ideologies that apply. In addition, they are normally dynamic rather than static, evolving over time. Speakers with truncated competencies may require interpreting in specific situations, and this study explores the intersection of emerging bilingualism and interpreting in two authentic video-recorded police interviews.

The police interview is explored in this study as an institutionally-situated discourse genre that normally takes place at the initial stages of a chain of events (Haworth 2009). Milne and Powell (2010: 208) define investigative interviewing as a method of communication “with anyone within the investigation process in order to obtain the maximum quality of information.” Compared to other legal genres, the police interview is an “informal, semi-formal” legal genre (Hale 2007: 66) that includes procedurally-required stages that are normally scripted, such as the caution and question-answer sequences. Interviewers typically follow interview protocols like the PEACE¹ model used in England and Wales, and the PRICE model used in Scotland (see Drummond 2009 for a detailed comparison). The sensitivity of this genre also results from power asymmetries (Heydon 2005), the strategic use

¹ PEACE model: Preparation and Planning, Engage and Explain, Account, Clarify and Challenge; PRICE model: Preparation, Rapport, Information, Confirmation and Evaluation

of silence, pauses, echoing, formulations and other discourse features through which different interviewing protocols are articulated (Grant et al. 2015). It is altered and comes under pressure in bilingual interpreted interviews (Böser & LaRooy 2018).

The triadic and bilingual nature of interpreter-mediated interviews reshape interactional dynamics and require careful consideration. Epistemological and interactional power asymmetries impact upon the sense-making process in different ways (Nakane 2014). The status and role of the interpreter is one of them, as illustrated in studies exploring the conflicts of interest that emerge when “bilingual” officers act as interpreters (Berk-Seligson 2009). Difficulties emerging in the interpretation of the caution (Nakane 2007; Russell 2001), the interpretation and relaying of the pragmatic force, and difficulties posed by certain discourse features and the changing turn-taking system (Gallai 2013; Komter 2005; Krouglov 1999; Lai & Mulayim 2014; Nakane 2007, 2009, 2011; Russell 2000) make bilingual interpreted interviews different from monolingual ones.

The linguistic regime used in the interviews analysed differs from more “standard” forms of dialogic interpreting in that the primary participants (interviewer, detainee) did not adhere to the one-person one-language rule. Instead, the Spanish-speaking suspects also mobilised their linguistic resources in the interviewers’ language (English) to communicate. Their competencies in English were acknowledged as valuable resources for interaction in the police interview, but an interpreter was also present throughout the encounters and participated intermittently. This interactional regime is known as “stand-by interpreting” (Angermeyer 2008: 390), and it emerges in multilingual encounters featuring a degree of language transparency in which multilingual resources are acknowledged as usable. The label describes the interpreter’s position, who “stands by”, monitoring interaction and participating intermittently.

1.1 Multilingualism and hybrid interactional regimes

Stand-by interpreting can be referred to as a “hybrid” regime as far as mediated communication is concerned. Both English-English exolingual interaction and bilingual interpreter-mediated interaction are enmeshed in the same communicative event. Stand-by interpreting is often considered as a practice that should be avoided, and which has received most scholarly attention as a manifestation of non-professional (Meyer 2012) or “natural” interpreting (Anderson 2012; Traverso 2012), i.e. performed by primary participants, their friends or relatives, rather than by a qualified interpreter.

References to this mode also exist in the literature on police interpreting (Gallai 2013; Russell 2001), but the PhD study this paper stems from is the first to explore this mode in depth in the police interview, based on authentic video-recorded interaction. In the legal field, various factors have been identified as determining whether manifestations of some level of proficiency in “the other’s” language or in an otherwise shared language are acknowledged or not as valuable resources. The level of proficiency, or often a perceived rather than an assessed level of proficiency, is one of them. Assumptions of “full” or “sufficient” competency can place interpreting users at a disadvantage, whether it is an assumption of sufficient proficiency on the part of one of the end users (English 2010; Pavlenko 2008) or when a “bilingual” officer is considered a viable interpreter (Berk-Seligson 2009). The studies by Du (2015) and Nakane (2010) illustrate how an unassisted monolingual regime is imposed at certain stages of court hearings. That imposition is often based on lay assumptions and an “ideology of proficiency” (Nakane 2012: 170) from those in a position of power. Both authors warn about the risks for communication and justice that are inherent in that imposition.

Transparency among participants other than the primary ones can also affect interaction, as observed in Kredens’ (2017) study of “adversarial interpreting” in police interviews with two interpreters and a high degree of monitoring, and in the studies by Martinsen and

Dubslaff (2010) and Ng (2018) on court interpreting. In the somewhat reverse or atypical reality of Hong Kong bilingual courts (Ng 2018), the use of English as the language of proceedings makes interpreting required virtually by default. Despite being the language of the proceedings, English is not the majority or native language of the Hong Kong population. This linguistic make-up leads to a situation in which interpreters are constantly being monitored by other participants in the courtroom and is influenced by their varying degrees of intervention.

Finally, adherence to norms can also be a determining factor, which often leads to imposing interpreting throughout the interaction (Angermeyer 2013, 2015) as the default regime rather than acknowledging emerging competencies as usable resources. As criticised by authors such as Angermeyer (2015), Maryns (2006) and Rock (2017), the different scenarios mentioned above adhere to a monolingual norm that views linguistic resources in different languages as separate entities and in absolute terms – either indicating full competence or being insufficient to be usable.

1.2 Coordination in interpreter-mediated encounters

The stand-by mode is conceptualised in this study within the broader notion of interpreting as a communicative activity that occurs in and through interaction, as “a process of negotiation of meanings amongst participants” (Wadensjö 1998: 8) rather than as mere transmission (Knapp-Potthof & Knapp 1987; Reddy 1979). Such a conceptualisation requires considering contextual features, including the criminal case, the interview as the communicative event, participants’ roles and features, and the local contexts of talk as relevant contextual features. This study draws on Cicourel’s (1992) notion of context as including micro and macro features.

The discourse-based interaction paradigm (Pöchhacker 2016) or Dialogue Interpreting (DI) (Mason 1999) is interested in interaction emerging in dialogue-based encounters, often involving three parties and normally taking place in public service settings. The body of DI research has extensively shown that interpreting is not a mechanistic text transfer activity, but a three-party interactional activity. All participants’ moves, including those of the interpreter (Metzger 1999; Roy 2000; Wadensjö 1998/2014), contribute to the co-construction of meaning. The notion of interpreting as an interactional activity involving both relaying (translation/interpreting) and coordinating tasks as proposed by Wadensjö (1998/2014) is now well established in the field. An action such as taking the next turn is an act of “implicit coordination” that normally determines the language and participant of the next move. Interpreters also coordinate talk through “explicit coordination”, with actions such as asking for clarification or signalling comprehension. Baraldi and Gavioli (2012: 5-6) propose the concepts of “basic” and “reflexive” coordination:

Basic coordination is the smooth achievement of self-reference, without any emergence of problems of understanding and/or acceptance of references and meanings. Reflexive coordination is the achievement of self-reference through actions that aim to improve (encourage, expand, implement, etc.), question or claim understanding and/or acceptance of utterances and meanings.

Like Wadensjö, Baraldi and Gavioli (2012) stress that meta-communicative activity can play a pivotal role as a guide to what participants are contributing to the co-construction of meaning, and highlight the collaborative nature of that activity, to which all participants in the encounter contribute. In the analysis presented below, coordination is explored drawing on the concepts discussed above and as it surfaces within the stand-by mode of interpreting in the police interviews.

2. Case Study

The case study consisted of two authentic video-recorded police interviews related to the same criminal case. The handwritten notes taken by the supporting officer in both interviews are also part of the data set analysed. Two suspects were detained under section 4(3b) of the Misuse of Drugs Act (UK), under suspicion of being concerned in the supply of controlled drugs. Both suspects were at the main suspect's flat, where several items were found and seized as evidence. The suspects were taken into custody and the interviews were conducted on the same day. The same two officers were present in both interviews. Between the first and the second interview they swapped the lead interviewer and support interviewer roles.

Following routine practice for the type of suspected offence, the interviews were both audio and video-recorded, and the video recordings were used in this analysis. They belong to a larger corpus made available by the then Lothian and Borders Police to a research group based at the Centre for Translation and Interpreting Studies in Scotland (CTISS), under a confidentiality and data protection agreement. One of the limitations of the data set is that the interpreter is the only participant who is not visible in the video recordings; hence, the author only had access to her spoken utterances. However, seating arrangements, the layout of the interview room and gaze direction made it possible to establish her approximate position.

The excerpts presented in the analysis below refer to either Interview 1 or Interview 2. Interview 1 was 01:02:40 hours long; Interview 2 was 00:52:25 hours long. Four participants were present per interview. Three of them took part in both interviews, namely both police officers and the interpreter. As for the language repertoires, the three Spanish-speaking participants (both detainees and the interpreter) spoke a different variety of Spanish each, but no observable cues of miscomprehension or miscommunication between the interpreter and each suspect were observed. The police officers were native speakers of English and spoke with a marked Scottish accent. The interpreter was a certified interpreter with extensive interpreting experience. Table 1 below shows the participants, their role and the initials used in the analysis:

Table 1. Participants, activity roles and pseudonyms

Activity role and gender	Interview 1	Interview 2
Lead interviewer (M)	PO1	PO2
Supporting interviewer (M)	PO2	PO1
Interviewee (M)	DP1	DP2
Interpreter (F)	INT	INT

The exchanges presented in the analysis are framed within each interview and in specific interview phases. In the interviews analysed, the bottom-up thematic and linguistic analysis revealed four distinct phases: 1) formal opening (introductions, caution, review of rights); 2) preliminary questioning (more informal, rapport-building prevails); 3) questioning; and 4) closing.

This paper focuses on three questions:

- How was the stand-by interpreting regime negotiated in the interviews?
- Given the selective nature of interpreting and the discourse genre, how and by whom was interpreter participation initiated over the course of the interviews?
- Based on the patterns observed, what were the observable functions of interpreting episodes?

3. Methods and analytical approach

The two video recordings were transcribed by the author using the annotation software ELAN, anonymised, transferred to MS Word files and formatted to improve readability. Jeffersonian conventions (Jefferson 1983) were used, although participants were displayed horizontally rather than vertically, inspired by the format used by Gallez (2014) in her study of court interpreting in Belgium. This format was expanded to accommodate embodied actions (gaze shifts, head and upper-body gestures, and object manipulation). Back-translation of utterances in Spanish into English and overlapping talk were also included and adjusted to the horizontal format (see transcription conventions in Annex 1). Utterances in Spanish were translated into English by the author and reviewed by two independent professional translators and native speakers of English. One of them was a translator and academic, the other a freelance translator. The reviewers were informed of the purpose of the translation and were instructed to adopt a literal approach, maintain features such as false starts, unidiomatic markers and insertions in English.

This study draws on Conversation Analysis and interactional sociolinguistics (IS) as analytical lenses. Drawing on Kendon (1967, 2004), Rossano (2012) and Streeck (2014), and in line with a growing body of research on interpreter-mediated interaction (Bot 2005; Davitti 2013, 2015, 2018; Krystallidou 2013; Krystallidou et al. 2018; Lang 1978; Mason 2012; Pasquandrea 2011; Vranjes et al. 2018; Wadensjö 2001), this study adopts a multimodal angle across analytical layers. The micro-level, naturally-occurring (Schegloff 2007) and “inside-out” approach to the analysis that is characteristic of CA (Russell 2001) makes it particularly suitable for this study of institutionally-situated interaction. Heritage (2009) refers to the narrower range of practices that are often observable in institutional interaction compared to communication in non-institutional conversations, as participants’ actions are oriented towards the business at hand. The different degrees of interactional power participants have as a result of their activity role and genre-specific conversational practices, typically result in a unique fingerprint (Heritage & Clayman 2011).

Heritage’s (2005) approach to the analysis of institutional interaction offers a useful tool to dissect institutional conversation. It is articulated around six “places” where the institutionality of the interaction can be observed: turn-taking organisation; overall structural organisation of the encounter; sequence organisation; turn design; lexical choice; epistemological and other forms of asymmetry. In addition, three concepts from IS are relevant for this study. As highlighted by Bailey (2015: 3), “While interactional sociolinguistics focuses on meaning-making and interpretation processes, conversation analysis focuses on the structure, or organisation, of conversation.” This difference between CA and IS makes their combination a fitting method for the analysis of interpreted interaction, which has been amply applied in the field (Berk-Seligson 2009; González 2006; Mason 2009; Meyer 2012; Nakane 2014; Roy 2000; Wadensjö 1998).

IS’s broader conceptualisation of context is useful to explore aspects related to the co-construction of meaning that manifest beyond the organisation of talk, but which contribute to examining it. Gumperz’ (1982: 130) notion of “conversational cooperation” is also of relevance. It sees sense-making as a cooperative endeavour among participants that goes beyond the organisation of turn-taking and particular turn designs. Considering the bilingual, triadic and typically cross-cultural nature of interpreter-mediated events, ability and willingness to cooperate are required on the part of all participants, including the interpreter. This brings us to the third concept of relevance for this study from the IS tradition, namely Gumperz’ (1982: 131) notion of contextualisation cues:

These constellations of surface features of message form are the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and *how* it relates to what precedes or follows.

Cues can be of a verbal, kinetic or prosodic nature. Lexical choices, pauses, rhythm, gaze, and nods can signal how what is said is to be understood (Gumperz 1990). Mason (2009: 63) highlights that contextualisation cues guide inferences because they are marked, implicit and need to be inferred from the context.

The analytical apparatus presented above served as a framework for a bottom-up layered approach, whereby each layer built on the previous one. The first layer included identification of dyadic and triadic sequences and their discourse features. Lines of questioning and interview phases were identified as emerging from the first layer, and identification of turn-taking and turn-allocation features, contextualisation cues and interactional dynamics in interpreter-mediated sequences followed. These served as a basis for identifying the functions of interpreting episodes in the stand-by regime, and the features of relaying and coordinating activities emerging therefrom. The analysis below focuses on the sequences featuring the negotiation of the interpreting regime, turn-taking features in interpreted sequences and their observable function within the stand-by regime.

4. Analysis

4.1 Setting up the interpreting regime

This first part of the analysis draws on the interview excerpts in which interpreting-related aspects were discussed, and on the meta-comments about interpreting contained in the interview notes taken by the supporting officer in each interview. During the course of the study, the author also contacted the lead investigator of the criminal case to request information about the events leading up to the interview. The information provided by the lead investigator is referred to when appropriate.

As outlined above, the initial analysis this study stems from revealed four interview phases per interview, which were identified based on discourse features and their thematic orientation (Monteoliva-García 2017):

- Phase 1 focused on the formalities, including introducing the speakers for the recording, reviewing the suspect's rights in relation to a solicitor, the suspected offence and the caution.
- Phase 2 consisted of the preliminary analysis and focused on personal and general information about the suspects, including their address, occupation, family background, hobbies and the reasons why they were in Scotland.
- Phase 3 was the questioning about the suspected offence, including questions about the evidence seized.
- Phase 4 was the closing phase. This phase was the shortest one (00:02:18 in Interview 1 and 00:00:18 in Interview 2).

These four phases are referred to in the analysis below to contextualise the phenomena observed and the excerpts presented. The percentages included below in relation to interactional moves are aimed only at providing a comprehensive picture.

4.1.1 *Setting up the interpreting regime and meta-comments about interpreting*

The author contacted the lead interviewer to inquire about the decision to book an interpreter and to later present using English as an option during the interview in the presence of an interpreter. The lead investigator explained that both officers had interacted in English with the suspects in the police car before the interview and had observed that suspects could sustain a conversation about everyday topics (hobbies, football). However, they sometimes struggled to understand English or express themselves in English. Given the risk of miscommunication, the sensitive nature of the interview and the need to guarantee compliance with legal requirements, the investigators informed the suspects of their right to an interpreter. Both suspects took up their right, and a certified interpreter was booked.

The interpreting regime was negotiated at the beginning of each interview, after the suspects had been informed of their rights and the formalities had been completed. Police officers' power over the interaction placed them in the position to decide when and how the regime should be discussed. Power over when and what to interpret throughout the rest of the interaction was shared among all participants from their respective activity roles to different extents. In the excerpts below, the cells containing relevant actions illustrating the points being discussed are highlighted by means of thicker borders.

Excerpt 1 below presents how the language regime was discussed in Interview 1, including the first explicit mention of the interpreter and her role. It took place at minute 00:06:13, following the review of suspects' rights and his answers in relation to a solicitor, the delivery of the caution and the comprehension check. This passage also marked the transition from Phase 1 to Phase 2:

Excerpt 1. Setting up the interpreting regime. Interview 1. Phase 1 [00:06:13-00:06:31].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
99.→	((/docs)) Ehm, just to, just to check. Obviously, ((/dp1)) you speak some English.		
100.		((/nods)) Yeah.	
101.→	Ehmm. And we've got ((/int, pointing/int, /dp1: the interpreter here.)) So, you are quite happy you understand what we are (1), [what we are saying, [what was happening just now, yeah? ((/int, nods))	[Yes ((/nods)) [((/nodding))	
102.		Okay ((/nods, yawns))	
103.	((/dp1, nodding, /int: Yeah?))		
104.→	[((/dp1)) [((/dp1))	[((/int)) [Sí, está bien. [((/int)) [Yes, that's fine.	O sea, [¿entendés? Que tu inglés es, e::s [bueno, puedes entender↑. That is to say, [do you understand? That your English is, i::s [good, you can understand↑.
105.		Sí. Yes.	
106.→	[((/int)) [((/int))	[((/nods)) [((/nods))	[De todos modos estoy yo acá [y cualquier cosa, me lo preguntás a mí. [Anyway, I am here [and if you need anything, just ask me.
107.	[((/dp1))	((/po1: Ah, okay.))	

The sequences presented above contain the setting up of the interpreting regime: dyadic exolingual interaction in English as the standard format, with the interpreter available to assist whenever her assistance was deemed necessary. In turns 99 and 101, the interviewer made an evaluative remark of the detainee's English competence as "obviously speaking some English," which was followed by information on the presence and availability of the interpreter, accompanied by gaze shifts and gestures (pointing) towards the interpreter. The interpreter added a specific instruction (Unit 106, "ask me"), reaffirming her role following the police officer's reassuring statement addressed to DP1, and thereby aligning with the officer's introduction of the interpreter as an available resource for guaranteeing comprehension.

In Interview 2, the interpreter and the interpreting regime were introduced earlier than in Interview 1 (00:01:11 compared to 00:06:13 in Interview 1):

Excerpt 2. Setting up the interpreting regime. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:01:11-00:01:40].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
12.→	If you have any problem understanding what we're saying ((/int, points/int)), [we've got an interpreter ((/dp2: here)) that's why she's here, [so that you understand exactly what's being said to you.	[((/int, /po2)) [°I know° ((/int, smiles))	
13.→	[((/int)) [((/dp2)) [((/int)) [((/dp2))	[((/po2, nods, /int)) [(((...po2, nodding)) [((/po2, nods, /int)) f(((...po2, nodding))	Cualquier cosa [que no te quede claro y querás que [te lo vuelvan a repetir [o me mirás a mí directamente y te lo interpreto, [°okay° Anything [that is not clear and you want them [to repeat to you [for you look at me directly and I'll interpret it for you, [°okay°?

In Excerpt 2, Unit 12, PO2 introduced the interpreter also by pointing and looking at her and provided a very precise definition of her role: to guarantee that the detainee understood. The wording of the interpreter's introduction can be viewed as an overt manifestation of PO2's assumptions about the interpreter's role in the interview: a guarantor of PO2's comprehension – not their (POs') comprehension or the suspect's ability to express himself. As in the interpreter's rendition of the introductory sequence in Interview 1, her rendition in Unit 13 contains instructions that were not present in the source utterance. The interpreter invited DP2 to either let her know or look at her if he needed anything or wished to have any information repeated (Unit 13), thus displaying her alignment with her role as presented by PO2.

The instructions added by the interpreter display her power over a matter that pertains directly to her. Both Gallai (2013) and Böser (2013) report on a similar behaviour among interpreters in their respective data sets, and Wadensjö (1998: 192) states in this regard that "talk about talk means that an issue is touched upon which, in a sense, belongs to the interpreter". Whether the addition of the instruction "look at me" was intentional and influenced by the immediately preceding experience in Interview 1 or not, the analysis of interpreter-selection devices below shows that gaze shifts were DP2's preferred interpreter-selection device.

4.1.2 *Meta-comments about interpreting*

The excerpt presented below occurred later on in the interviews. It features comments about interpreting or the interpreter that provide us with valuable information regarding participants' views on communication and interpreting. In Excerpt 3 below, DP2 realised that he had misunderstood a question in an exchange that had taken place before the interview. The sequences presented took place 2:53 minutes into Interview 2. The police officer was reviewing the answers given by DP2 before the interview about his rights to a solicitor, which were recorded in SARF (Solicitor Access Recording Form):

Excerpt 3. Acknowledging the interpreter. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:02:31-00:03:27]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
28.	((/docs)) Okay. You signed the form to confirm that your answer to that was no (.) °I have here°. (1) Is that your signature there? ((points/docs))		
29.		(((nodding: Yeah, (.) yeah.)) [(((nodding: Yeah, yeah.))	¿Es tu firma [esa? <i>Is that your [signature?</i>
30.	°Yeah°↓ ((/docs))		
(3.5)			
31.	[You were also ask- ((/int)). Oh, sorry ((/dp2, handling documents, /doc)) [(((dp2, /docs)) [You were also ask- ((/int)). Oh, sorry ((/dp2, handling documents)) [(((dp2, /docs))	(((/int)) [(((POs, /int, nodding: Sí, sí.)) [(((/int)) [(((POs, nodding: Yes, yes.))	O sea, [lo que te acaba de decir es lo que te habían preguntado antes [de consultar a un [abogado. Te está diciendo- sorry. [Te está explicando lo que antes eh te leyeron, tus respuestas y lo que firmaste. <i>That is, [what he has just said is what they asked you before [about having a consultation with [a solicitor.</i> <i>He is saying- sorry. [He is explaining to you what they eh read to you before, your answers and what you signed.</i>
32.		Sí ((nods, /po2)) <i>Yes ((nods, /po2))</i>	
(1.5)			
33.		(((/int)) [(((nodding)) [(((/int)) [(((nodding))	Por eso, [a la pregunta tal y tal [contestaste sí, no. <i>So, [to question such and such [you answered yes, no.</i>
34.	[(((dp2, /docs)) [(((dp2, /docs))	[(((po2)) Sí, sí, sí (1) ((/int)) No, antes no había entendido, ANtes, [cuando me lo habían preguntao, había entendido la mitad. Pero ahora (1), cuando me lo has	

	<p>[(/dp2, /docs, /dp2)) {PO1} ((/int, /dp2)) [(/dp2, /docs))</p> <p>[(/dp2, /docs))</p> <p>[(/dp2, /docs, /dp2)) {PO1} ((/int, /dp2))</p>	<p>traducido tú, [sí lo he entendido, sí. No lo había entendido antes. [(/po2)) Yeah, yeah, yeah (1) No, I had not understood it earlier, EARlier, [when they asked me, I understood half of it. But now (1), when you translated it for me, [I understood it, yes. I had not understood it before.</p>	
35.	<p>[{PO2} ((/int))</p> <p>[{PO1} ((nodding))</p>		<p>Before (.) [when you asked me I: I hardly understood, but now, because I am explaining [to him, he, he could understand.</p>
36.	[{PO1} ((/dp2)) Good ((nods))	[(/...po2))	
37.	<p>{PO2} ((/dp2, points/int)) That, that's why [she's here. Okay? (1) You were then asked, 'Do you wish to have a private consultation with a solicitor at any other time during this questioning?' and your answer to that was no. Is that correct? (...int))</p>	[((nods))	

In Unit 31, the interpreter took the floor to explain what was going on after a 3.5-second pause, projecting her role as a guarantor of comprehension. In Unit 35, she changed footing and translated “*me lo has traducido*” (you translated it for me) as “because I am explaining to him,” making the illocutionary force of her moves explicit. Units 36 and 37 above show police officers’ ratifications of INT’s explanatory moves and embodied actions (pointing at her, looking towards her) confirming her role.

The verbs “confirm”, “clarify” and “explain” were also used in the written records taken during the interviews to refer to the interpreter’s actions during the delivery of the caution. The following statements were contained in the notes taken by PO2 during Interview 1:

- *Confirmed via interpreter that he was happy to be interviewed without a solicitor being present.*
- *Understanding of the caution clarified.*

As for Interview 2, PO1 also used “explain” to refer to the actions of both PO2 and the interpreter in Interview 2:

- *Cautioned, understood, explained to by PC and interpreter.*

These meta-comments can be seen as both records that show compliance with normative requirements (caution, the presence of an interpreter, reviewing suspects’ answers in the SARF form), as well as manifestations of POs’ assumptions about the interpreter’s role.

4.2 Selecting the interpreter: transitions, devices and function of interpreting episodes

This section focuses on interpreting episodes that occurred once the interactional regime had been agreed upon. Given the intermittent nature of interpreting, triadic sequences were considered as “marked” for analytical purposes. The analysis addresses three aspects: who initiated triadic sequences, when and how. With regard to the third aspect, the analysis considered both verbal and embodied actions used by primary participants to select the

interpreter as the next speaker, and the actions preceding interpreter self-selection as the next speaker, as these were identified as triggers of interpreter self-selection.

4.2.1 *Initiation of triadic sequences in police interviews with stand-by interpreting*

In the interviews analysed, 27% (Interview 1) and 25% (Interview 2) of sequences, respectively, were triadic, i.e. interpreter-mediated. The three parties in interaction selected the interpreter as the next speaker at different points, featuring a high degree of collaboration in managing turns in interpreter-mediated interaction. The interpreter was the main interpreting initiator in Interview 1 (66%), followed by the POs (18%) and the suspect (16%), whereas in Interview 2, the detainee and the interpreter distributed the responsibility of initiating interpreter participation virtually evenly (51% and 46%, respectively).

As shown in Figures 1 and 2 below, both intra (per phase) and inter-interview differences were observed. These may have resulted in part from individual preferences and attitudes of the two main participants who changed between one interview and another, namely the suspect and the lead interviewer. It is also worth noting that having taken part in Interview 1 could also affect the three participants who were present in both interviews: the interpreter and both officers. Figures 1 and 2 show the percentages of interpreter-selection moves per participant per interview and phase.

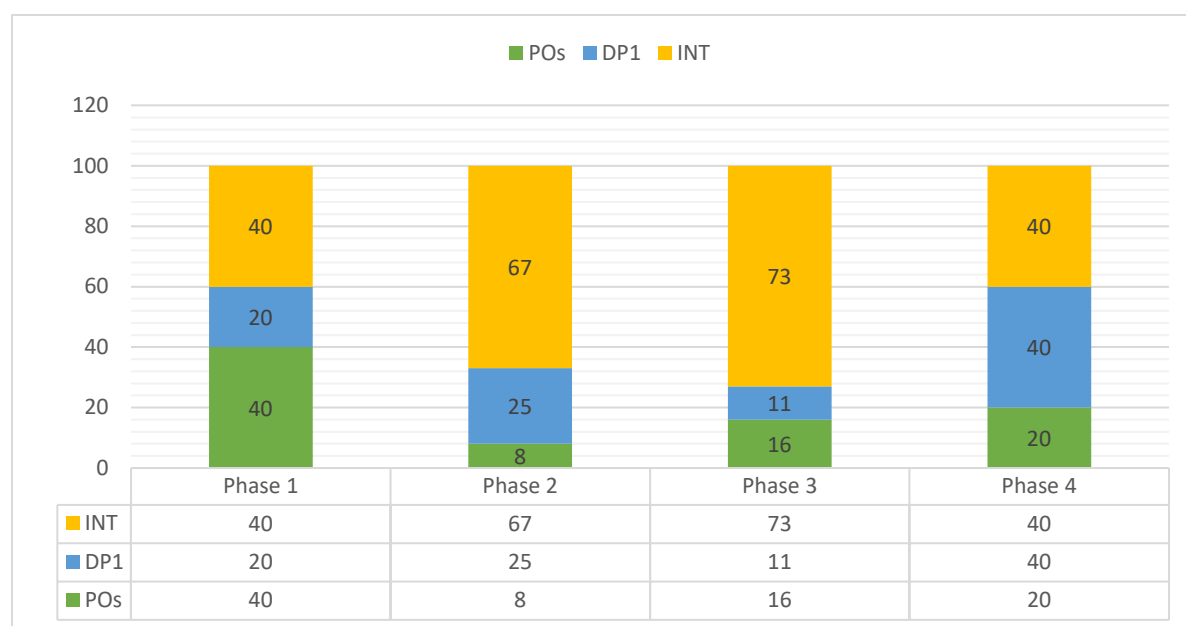


Figure 1. Triadic sequence initiator in Interview 1 (%)

In Phase 1, Interview 1, PO1 and INT distributed interpreting initiation moves evenly (40%/40%). INT was the main initiator in Phases 2 and 3 (67% and 73%, respectively). In Phase 2, the detainee was more active in requesting interpreter participation, and in Phase 3 the police officer took the lead more (16%) than in Phase 2 (8%), probably as a result of the focus of Phase 3 on gathering information about the suspected offence.

The distribution of initiation moves in Interview 2 is presented in Figure 2.

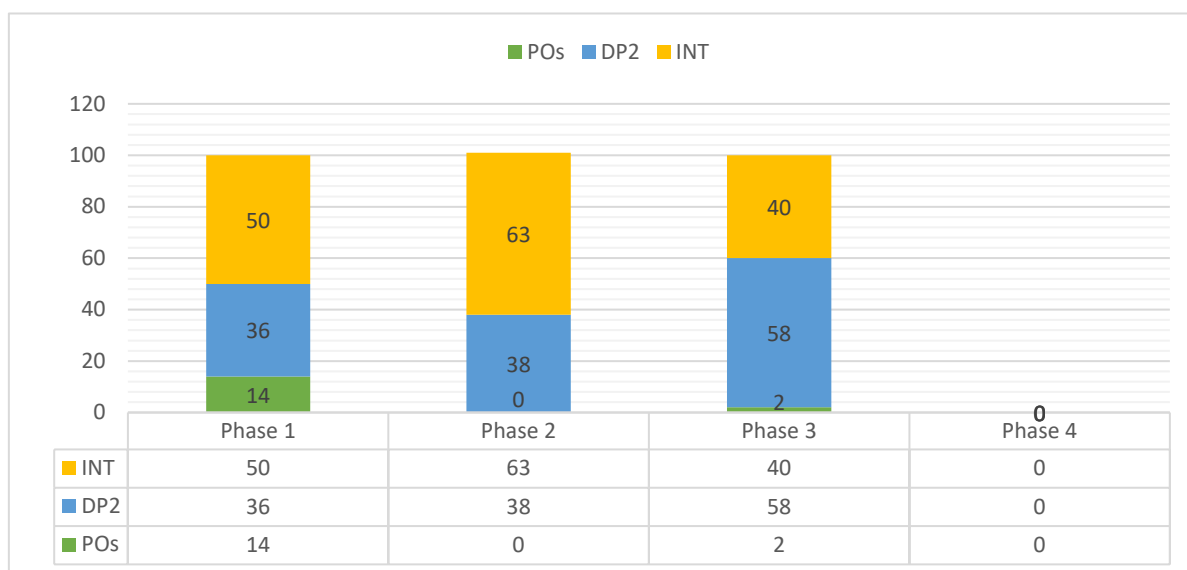


Figure 2. Triadic sequence initiator in Interview 2 (%)

In Interview 2, the interpreter was also the main initiator in Phases 1 (50%) and 2 (63%). Compared to Interview 1, though, the interpreter shared this responsibility primarily with Detainee 2 (36%, 38% and 58% in Phases 1, 2 and 3, respectively) rather than with the interviewer.

As mentioned above, Phase 2 focused on the preliminary questioning, addressing matters of a more general and personal nature (hobbies, occupation, family, work). Register was informal and syntax was less complex than in Phases 1 and 3. As shown in Excerpt 4 below, rapport-building efforts by officers were noticeable in Phase 2, including sustained eye contact with the suspect, an understanding tone, frequent nodding, echoing (represented through ovals in the excerpt), and back-channelling tokens (highlighted):

Excerpt 4. Back-channelling tokens. Interview 1. Phase 2 [00:08:38-00:08:56].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
11.	Ehm, how much is the rent?		
12.		Four hundred seventy-five.	
13.	((nodding: Okay.)) Per month?		
14.		((nods))) Yes.	
15.	Okay ((/docs)) (1) Ehm, do you ((/dp1)) have any (.) friends or family in Edinburgh?		
16.		((shakes his head)) No.	
17.	No↑.		
18.		Friends, yeah.	
19.	((nods))		
20.		Only friends.	
21.	Only friends ((nods)) Where is the rest of the family?		
22.		Mmm (1) Fuengirola.	
23.	Fuengirola↑.		
24.		Yeah ((nods))	

The analysis of triadic sequence initiator per phase and interview shows a decrease in the instances of initiation moves by police officers in Phase 2 and a concomitant increase in the instances of initiation moves by the detainee and the interpreter in both interviews. This suggests that police officers adopted a different interviewing strategy, placing more emphasis on building rapport with the detainee and entrusting the management of interpreter participation to the detainee and the interpreter. The purpose and nature of Phase 1 (formalities, suspect's rights) and Phase 3 (questioning about the suspected offence) offer a likely explanation of the increased initiative displayed by police officers in requesting interpreter participation.

4.2.2 *Interpreter-selection devices and the function of interpreting episodes*

This section presents the devices used by different participants to initiate interpreter participation and the functions of triadic exchanges. The functions were analysed as related to the observable triggers and their effect, thus looking both backwards to the preceding cues and forwards. In the data set, interpreting emerged as being primarily oriented to performing two functions: to repair miscommunication or to prevent it from happening.

Comprehension problems were the main interpreting trigger, followed by lexical deficits and production difficulties by the suspects. A detailed analysis of interpreter-selection moves by primary participants (other-selection) and by the interpreter (self-selection) revealed a variety of devices that are presented in Tables 2 and 3 below, respectively.

Table 2. Other-selection devices and function of interpreting episodes

Participant	Device used	Function
Other-selection: detainee	Gaze	Repair miscomprehension
	(gaze), gestures	
	(gaze), verbal repair initiation addressed to int	
	(gaze), code-switching	Repair production deficits
	(gaze), code-switching and gestures	
	(gaze) and gestures	
Other-selection: police officers	Gaze	Repair miscomprehension

	Gaze and hand gesture	Prevent miscomprehension
	Gaze	
	Gaze and hand gesture	

As observed in Table 2, detainees used gaze shifts, either in isolation or combined with other embodied actions, to initiate repair sequences. Lexical deficits were indexed primarily through code-switching, at times combined with gestures and together with gaze shifts in the direction of the interpreter. With regard to the police officers, particularly PO1, they used primarily gaze or gaze combined with hand gestures to initiate repair or to prevent miscomprehension.

Table 3 presents the cues triggering interpreter self-selection, and the main function of interpreting sequences when initiated by herself.

Table 3. Interpreter self-selection cues and orientation

	Cue	Function
Self-selection (interpreter)	Code-switching (and gaze and/or gestures)	Repair production deficits
	Dispreferred action	Repair miscomprehension
	Hesitation, hedging	
	Initiation of dyadic repair	
	Wh-questions	Prevent/(repair*) miscomprehension
	Silent pauses*	
	Echoing and formulations*	
	Procedural relevance of turn/sequence	

When the interpreter self-selected as the next speaker to repair communication, the ambiguous nature and function of some cues were observable, as shown in her occasional rather than consistent treatment of those devices as miscommunication cues. INT sometimes treated silent pauses, dispreferred answers, formulation and echoing as cues signalling the need for repair. Echoing, formulations and repetition, though, can also be used as interviewing techniques to obtain more details and/or to index listenership. As shown by Nakane (2014), the pragmatic force of formulations in police interviews can be misinterpreted by interpreters. These ambiguous cues at times made the task of assessing the need for her participation less straightforward for the interpreter.

The functions observed above align in large part with the way the interpreting regime was set up. Excerpt 5 below illustrates a typical repair sequence found in the data set:

Excerpt 5. Interpreting as repair. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:37:25-00:37:33]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
697.	((/bag)) Who does it belong to? ((/dp1))		
698.		Uhm?	
699.	((/int, points/int)) [You-, ((/bag)) ((/int, points/int)) [You-, ((/bag))		[¿A quién pertenece? [Who does it belong to?

In Excerpt 5, the interpreter took the next turn after DP1's repair-initiation move ("Uhm?") addressed to PO1 in Unit 698 and the interviewer's reaction (gaze shift and pointing towards the interpreter). The question asked by PO1 in Unit 697 is an example of the question types that typically posed comprehension problems to the suspects in the data set: questions on ownership (*Who does it belong to? Whose is this?*), frequency and length (*How often...? How long...?*), and purpose (*What do you use it for? What is it for?*). Their syntax differs

significantly from question structure in Spanish and repeatedly posed comprehension problems for the detainees. Throughout the interviews, the interpreter developed the ability to anticipate comprehension problems based on previous repair-initiation actions.

The last excerpt presented shows an example of an interpreting episode that appears to be aimed at preventing rather than repairing miscommunication. PO1's and INT's behaviour displayed a preventative attitude over the course of the interviews, especially during stages that were procedurally more relevant. This example also features the use of embodied actions to select the interpreter, which were visible only thanks to the visual nature of the data set:

Excerpt 6. The procedural relevance of interpreting. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:19:47-00:20:05].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
474.	{PO1} °Okay° ((coughs, /doc, po2, dp1)) Earlier today ehm police [(.) forced entry to your, [to your house at Gillespie Crescent.	[°Hm°. [°Yeah°.	
475.		°Yeah° ((nods))	
(0.7)			
476.	Ehm ((/int, points and nods/int))		
477.	[((/bag)) [((/bag))	[((/int, nods)) [mi casa ((/po1)) [((/int, nods)) [my house ((/po1))	Hoy más [temprano la policía forzó la entrada en tu [domicilio en Gillespie Crescent. Earlier [today the police forced entry into your [house at Gillespie Crescent.

DP1's back-channelling tokens (°Hm°, °Yeah°) in Units 474 and 475 can be indicative of signalling comprehension or listenership. In Unit 476, PO1 is seen either selecting the interpreter or giving her the next turn. Lack of access to the interpreter's embodied action means that she may have requested the floor non-verbally without that action being accessible to us. Whether granting the turn or selecting her as the next speaker, PO1 used three non-verbal moves: a gaze shift, a nod and pointing directly at her. DP1's overlapping moves in Unit 477 are indicative of, at least, partial understanding of PO1's statement. While INT interpreted into Spanish, DP "co-interpreted", finishing INT's sentence ("mi casa") in Unit 477. The procedural relevance of PO1's statement, which initiated Phase 3, may have triggered interpreter participation, a pattern identified in the data set.

5. Discussion

As illustrated in the analysis, the extent to which the detainees' linguistic competencies were suitable or not to interact in the police interview with stand-by interpreting was discussed and agreed upon at the beginning of the interview, and assessed locally by the different participants as the interaction unfolded. The underlying factors identified in relation to the use or non-use of interpreting, though, go beyond the immediate local context. The extent of the interpreter's contributions was highly dependent not only on the detainees' competencies, but also on her own and the primary participants' assessment of when interpreting was required, and what for – whether to repair miscomprehension or production deficits, or to prevent

miscommunication. The analysis revealed a high degree of local negotiation and collaboration in the co-construction of meaning in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting, and differences among participants in each interview and in different interview phases.

This paper proposed exploring stand-by interpreting as a phenomenon that falls under the umbrella of mediated practices and which deserves further study. This mode 1) acknowledges the diversity of communicative resources at hand in a given encounter, and 2) is placed somewhere along the transparency–opacity continuum (Müller 1989). Differences were observed in the degree of opacity and transparency with regards to the other participants’ repertoires among the three minimum participants required in mediated interaction. As Jacquemet (2013) argues, various types of power are at play when interpreting is used intermittently – from the more objective need for mediation due to breaches in communication, to the role-related power enacted by different participants based on their activity role, to turn-specific choices based on the function, consequences and value attached to the turn or sequence, to institutional power structures.

The study confirms and expands the interpreter’s role as one of the coordinators of talk in interpreter-mediated interaction and reveals the pivotal role of her monitoring activity in the stand-by regime. She identified the need for repair, reacted to repair-initiation moves and anticipated the potential for miscommunication, exercising the power to decide what qualifies as translatable material. Compared to standard interpreting, where an utterance is typically interpreted by default by the mere fact of being assumed to be opaque, in stand-by interpreting in the data analysed, that phenomenon only applied to utterances produced in Spanish – opaque for both officers. Every other utterance was subjected to scrutiny, and different criteria were applied to decide whether an utterance was interpretable material or not. This monitoring role implied a high degree of interactional power and responsibility, but also posed some risks, in particular relating to the treatment of ambiguous cues. The analysis also highlighted the multimodal nature of interactional moves to manage turns and participation, with gaze playing a prominent role as an interpreter-selection device. Analyses of authentic video-recorded interaction are crucial to continue shedding light on less researched interpreting modes like the mode studied here, in authentic practice.

Finally, the analysis revealed that, despite being unclear or broken at times, the wording of the detainees’ answers did not always trigger interpreter selection or interpreter self-selection. Both primary participants and the interpreter tolerated a degree of ungrammaticality or lexical inaccuracies. In sensitive scenarios such as a police interview, the effect of that tolerance would require further study, as it may be the case that the quality of detainees’ English impacts not only on the accuracy of their answers, but also on how their accounts are perceived by those who assess their credibility.

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
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Appendix: Transcription conventions

VERBAL FEATURES

Symbol	Meaning
[Beginning of overlapping actions
:	Long previous vowel
::	Very long previous vowel
-	Sudden cut-off of the current sound
(.)	Micropause
(n)	Longer pause: length of pause in seconds
↓	Falling intonation
↑	Rising intonation other than a question
=	Latching
°xxx°	Words spoken quietly
°°xxx°°	Words spoken very quietly
°°°xxx°°°	Words spoken extremely quietly
(xxx)	Inaudible passage/unsure transcript
CAPITALS	Emphasised talk
<i>Italics and smaller font</i>	Back-translation and overlapping actions
Boldface	Code-mixing: insertion in a sentence in the other language
{SPEAKER}	Speaker identification in the PO column.
→,  , 	An arrow, thicker cell borders and highlighted text draw attention to a particularly significant move in the excerpt.

NON-VERBAL FEATURES

Symbol	Meaning
((non-verbal))	Text between double brackets: description of non-verbal features.
((non-verbal: verbal))	A colon is used to separate simultaneous verbal and non-verbal actions for the same speaker.
((/INITIALS))	/ indicates gaze direction. The speaker directs their gaze to an object or person presented after the slash.
((/away))	/away indicates that the speaker directs their gaze to an indeterminate point.
((non-verbal action/interlocutor))	the speaker directs a non-verbal action to an object or person presented after /
((...interlocutor))	speaker slowly directs gaze or gesture towards an object or person

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